should not marry before this period of time has elapsed. E. A. Aleksandrov reports that the widow should not marry for a year. But, now, under the influence of the Shariat, the period of widowhood lasts 100 days.

The widower does not wear mourning, and his entrance into marriage is not restricted by a definite period of time.

The widow who wishes to marry (yesir) after the period of mourning (idda), must marry without fail the blood brother or /88/ closest kinsman of her husband, excluding his father, without a kalym. At the wedding they slaughter only one sheep. If she wishes to remain a widow (tulkhatun), no one forces her into a second marriage. The reason for not marrying, for which they praise her - is not wishing to part with her children, who must remain in the house of the deceased. Then she continues to be considered the acquisition of the deceased and receives clothing and support in his house from the succession, even though she is childless. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, a widow who refuses to marry the brother of her late husband, remains the mistress of the property of the deceased husband only if she had children by him, and absolutely destines herself to be a widow. She is considered to be guardian of the sons until their majority. After that,even, after their majority she has full power to manage their property.

After the death of a middle brother, his wife goes to the older and not to the younger brother, although usually the widows, preferring the younger, declare that the purely parental relations of the former brother-in-law (kaynaga) to them cannot be changed into marital relations. If in this case the older brother gives way to the younger one, he can insist on being given an atton /a horse and a coat/.

If the widow wishes to marry the son of the older brother, the younger brother will not agree to this, saying: I am senior to him in rank (yulym ulkun). Then the people can say to the older brother: If you do not marry her, because your wife does not agree to it, then your younger brother marries her. But let him give you an atton for seniority (yulyngdy kylsun). If the wife of the younger brother, learning of this, also raises a howl (uibui saldy), then he can fail to give this atton, and not marry the widow, but say to the son of the older brother: I give up my seniority to you, my child, (yulumdy balam sagan berdim). For his yielding he receives an atton from the latter.

An outsider, who wishes to receive the agreement of the rel-

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Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband.

586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

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The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

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Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

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[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

[Great Horde]

428 survived her husband, the youngest son and the mother shared a double portion. Izraztsov gives the following instance: a woman with four sons received from her husband a herd of 200 head of livestock of various kinds. She then divided the herd into five parts; two parts, or eighty head, were reserved for her youngest son and herself, the three older sons, forty head each. This, however, did not require the elder sons to move away, for all the herds could continue to share in a common pasture, and to be otherwise indistinguishable, the natural increase being proportional to all.[111]

428 948 0589 The widow's portion again was held in trust for her minor sons. A distinction was made between children born out of wedlock as follows: if a widow has borne sons to her deceased husband, any further sons she bore could not share in her husband's estate, but were reckoned to their natural and actual sire's line, a consequence of the doctrine that the son of an unmarried woman participated with full rights in his biological father's estate.[112] On the other hand, sons born to a widow who had borne no sons previously were reckoned to her husband's line if they were born within a few years after the death of the husband, and thus social fact overrode the biological.

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[111] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[112] Dingelstedt, 154.